7: Shklovsky -- 21-22 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 753, 776

"As already mentioned, they [RCH: i. e., the Kolymyans] speak Russian very imperfectly, their language being Yakutian and the Yakutian Pantheon has left a marked impression upon their religion. They firmly believe that there are four gods, one for each of the four corners of the sky; two saviours -- one in the East and one in the West -- St. Nicholas in the South, and the Mother of God in the North. Sometimes they confuse the latter with the only beneficent deity in the Yakutian [22] Pantheon, 'The Compassionate Mother of Creation.' Like the Yakuts, the Sredne Kolymyans believe that illness is caused by a devil entering the body, and the cure consists in a correct diagnosis -- that is, in finding out what devil is in the sick man; and that can only be done by a Shaman!

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-4
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

The initiation of a shaman is performed publicly. An old shaman conducts the one to be initiated on a high hill or on an open field, dresses him in a kuma (i. e. a red cotton wrapper) gives him a scepter hanged with horse-hair, and places nine youths to his right, nine girls to his left. He himself stands behind the novice, to whisper the shaman magic formulas in his ear. The latter has to repeat them:

"I promise to be a protector of the unhappy, a father of the miserable, and a mother of the orphans. I shall honor the demons who live on the tops of the high mountains, and swear that I shall serve them with all my strength. I shall honor, bow to, and serve the highest and most powerful of them, the demon who commands all demons, the master of the three demon sibs who live on the tops of the mountains, him whom the shamans call Sostuganach Ulu-Toen (the frightful, terrible one); his elder son Ujgul-Toen (the insane one), his wife Ujgul-Chotun (the insane woman), his younger son Kjakja-Curan-Toen (the loudly speaking one), his wife Kjakja-Curan-Chotun, and their numerous family and servants, through whom they send the people diseases, accidents, breakings of legs, and the podagra. I vow to save those who have been affected by these diseases, by sacrificing a cream-colored mare.

"I shall profess and worship, bow to, and serve Ulu Toen's younger brother, the demon Chara-Surun-Toen (the black raven), his son Alban-Buran-Toen (the resourceful venturer), his daughter Kys-Salisaj (the virgin who walks), who prompts people to commit manslaughter, suicide, and calumny. I promise to help rid these people of

their passions by offering the said demons a black horse.

"I shall profess, worship, and bow to the demon Altan-Sobiraj-Toen (the brazen basin), his wife Altan-Sobiraj-Chotun (the one with the bigger brazen arrow), their daughters Timir-Kuturuk (iron tail) and Kejulgan-Darchan (the important, great, lopping woman), who send mankind chronical abscesses. I shall help free the sick by sacrificing some (Arago) liquor, and offering the demons a motley seamew, as a gift of honor.

"I shall profess and worship, and bow to the ancester of these demons who is known as Kjun-Zelerjuma-Sakryl-Chotun (the horrible foe of the sun) who has 52 tables full of holes, and 52 servants. She sends the people the passion of game and drinking, of robbery, plundering, abject deeds, and suicide. I shall try to heal those who are obsessed with these vices. I shall kill a red-spotted young mare who is an ambler, and twist heart and liver of the mare round my neck; I shall perform shaman magic to propitiate the goddess.

"I shall profess and honor the demon above the demons of the six sibs who live in the place where the sinners' souls are sent to; I will bow to the one who is known among the shamans as Talirdach-Tan-Taraly-Toen (he who drags into ruin), his daughters Sorocha-Chotun (the wind-driven female beauty, and San-Chotun, and his countless servants who send men and cattle epidemic diseases. To propitiate them I shall offer them a sorrell-spotted mare.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Bor-Malachaj-Toen (deformed earth)

and his wife Bor-Malachaj-Chotun who send mankind various diseases and, especially, death. If in a family children should die, I will implore these demons for mercy, and [171] offer them a black cow with a half-white head.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Archach-Toen (the sick one) and his wife Archach-Chotun, who send mankind consumption. I shall heal the affected by offering a blackish brown cow.

"I shall profess, and honor the demon Njas-Elju (cart-horse, death) and his wife Yeryk-Chotun (the sick one) who send the people falling sickness and Siberian pestilence. I shall try to heal those who have been affected by these diseases by offering an eel-pout and a trout.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Kytaj-Baksy-Toen who gives the Yakuts resourceful smiths and powerful shamans. When Kytaj, angry with a smith, sends him a disease, I promise to kill a red cow in his honor, to spread the blood over all the forge tools, and to burn the heart and the liver to ashes in the chimney. If I should be affected by this disease, another shaman will sacrifice for me and propitiate the demon.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the daughter of the demon, Tamyk-Chotun (the haughty one). She sends mankind mental diseases of various kind. Those who have been affected by such diseases I shall heal by sacrificing nine ermines, nine snow-weasels, nine fitchews, and nine pigeons; I vow to catch them alive, to adorn them, and to release them entirely.

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-4
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

"I shall profess and bow to, I shall honor the shaman woman Tajaktach-Njacaj (the feeble one with the reed), her husband Atyr-Chataj (the eagle) and his countless family and descendants, who send the people oppression of the chest. Those who have been affected by this disease I shall try to save by sacrificing a light-red cow with but one horn.

"I shall acknowledge, honor, and bow to the heavenly shaman Kybilyr Ojun (the white swan), his sister Kytalyktyr-Kyrbyky (the swan of the acute wings). and their mother Soruktach-Sodor (the charitable ruler), who send the people deafness and every kind of ear disease. Those who have been affected by it I shall try to save by offering a red cow with but one horn (agar mostach kugas).

Ajsyt (the distributor of goods). This female deity has her abode in heaven; she does benefits by sending the people children and facilitates delivery to the women. She is favorable in general and especially towards women; she makes menstruation return after a childbirth. After lucky deliveries she is offered sacrifices. The ceremony will be referred to below. These good deities are not offered bloody sacrifices, only victuals (corn).

Good deities of the second class are: (orolžuttar)

1) An-dojdu-itcitja An-darchan-chotun (the female deity who protects the earth); she lives on big trees and gives the plants growth and fertility. According to the shamans she appears to people once in a while; and he who has had such a vision is happy for his lifetime and will suffer no more from any distress. According to the shamans, they accept various kinds of offerings.

2) Sjugja-Toen, chara-begi-toen (the deity of the cattle);he sends children and calves to the people. According to the shamans he sends beleljach-kulun and mjanjach-ogon, i. e. a foal with a spot on his forehead, and a boy with a birth-mark. Those spots and marks are considered as fortunate signs. Proportions and qualities of the actual sacrifice are ordered by the shaman.

3) Uordach-dzjusjugjach-Aj, i. e. the angry deity who punishes a man for his crimes and transgressions. He is offered a horse or a bull.

The teacher Pripuzov mentions that this god gives courageous men, fiery horses,

and powerful bulls.

4) The same author also mentions a god, Chotoj-Aj, who gives a mediocre breed only, but in larger quantity, and with a prevalence of female individuals.

5) Eechsit, a female deity who always accompanies a wanderer on his way and supports him in his good deeds. She enjoys particular love and esteem among the Yakuts. Sacrifices are willingly made for her. She is regarded as the Yakut guardian angel. According to the shamans, there is no protection for him who may have offended Eechsit and is abandoned by her. He is exposed to the evil spirits. If someone escapes a peril, he says that Eechsit has aided him. She is offered a young mare.

6) Baj-Bajanaj is the deity who protects game-hunting. He accompanies the hunter everywhere and helps him in his undertakings. When a Yakut goes to hunt in order to get skins, he carves an idol of wood, and tinges it with the blood of an animal he has killed in his honor. The shaman and the guests eat the meat of the killed animal, and the statue of Baj-Bajan is put in the front corner on the oron of honor. Oron is the table of honor in the left front corner. Sometimes Baj-Bajan stays in his corner for many years.

7) Ukulan, the deity of the fishermen. He lives in the water and affords successful fishing. He is offered two-years-old black calf.

The following gods and good demons may still be mentioned: Kis-tanara, the deity of the stables. He is represented in human appearance, dressed with a sable-fur. His

statue is kept in a bag of chamois leather which is adorned with motley pearls. On important occasions he is asked for help by throwing grease into the fire. [178]

The demon of the fire, An-drachan-toen, or Al-ot-iccitja enjoys equal honors. He is offered part of the meal which is being eaten. It is thrown into the fire.

An-darchan is fancied as an aged man. He is the mediator between mankind and the evil spirits. No sacrifice is made without a secondary sacrifice for him. He is the door through which one can reach another demon.

The god of the fire is characterized by benevolence. He helps in all circumstances, he displays a sensible and vivid interest in the actions of the people, which is repaid by giving him part of the meal which being eaten and throwing it into the fire. The demon is an honest old man. He is known as Byrjachja-bytika-kyryl-tjusjumjat, i. e. the appearance with the white beard.

As demons, or evil spirits, are considered:

1) Z-chosgon-ojun-kinjas, i. e. Satanas, the prince of the monsters. He sends the people evils, diseases, causes deaths of the cattle, and sterility. To appease him a light-brown foal is sacrificed (surzagyl).

2) Bologur-chotuna, Dochsun-Dujan, and Bachsy-toena-al-ljachaj are demons, the former of male, the latter of female sex. According to the shamans, both of them once were human beings, but were changed into demons on account of their sins. They

deprive men of their intelligence. They are offered a mare of spotted color (cugur).

3) Dzachtan-byradaj, or Jurjun-ogustach once was a shaman and possessed a white bull. The bull was stolen so the shaman became malicious. After his death he was punished by becoming a demon. He causes diseases, especially chest ailments in young children with fatal exit, unless he be offered a three years old calf.

4) Sordach-conach was a female shaman when she was alive. She causes several epidemics. According to the shamans her appearance is ugly, she has but one hand and foot, and one eye in the middle of the forehead. She is offered a red-stained cow (kéchebiren).

5) Makyny-kysa-tynyrachtach-kjadzjaj, a former shaman woman, causes madness and other diseases. She is offered a cow with water-bright horns and claws, a bald spot on the forehead, a motley tail, and generally red color... To honor her she is carved as an idol which is adorned with a giant fur. In this idol the fury is inevitably closed in, according to shaman notions. The idol is known as kys-tagara, virgin goddess. She is put in the angle of the central timber to the left of the fireplace, and remains untouched from generation to generation. It is venerated that much especially because the slightest touch may cause the ire of the Fury.

6) Buchar-dodar is the demon of death. Therefore he rides on the bull Bor-kurjun, i.e. the earth-pale panther. She lives in the nether world where like him, and with the exceptions of a few minor ones, there are eight demons of equal rank.

14: Krauss--177-178 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-5
116, 776, 782, 753,

7) Syry-kysa is a woman shaman as to her origin. She seduces people to do wrong, to suffer evil. She is not offered anything. The shaman has no difficulty in exorcizing her.

8) Sjulljukjuter are the demons of the waters. They live the way mortal men do, and raise cattle. In the waters there is much moss. If the latter is brought on the dry ground, it changes to meney, though, after three days it will be moss again.

9) Sebeka is a little ugly girl with an enormous belly. She lives in a poor Kalmuk hut (choton) and brings mischief upon the cattle.

18: Priklonski--81 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
H6, 614, 753, 756, 776

It is, above all, up to the shaman, after being called to a patient to find out the name of the spirit in question, because every spirit causes only those diseases which are peculiar to his sib. He must, moreover, find out, what kind of sacrifice has to be offered in order to appease the spirit and make him abstain from his hostility towards the patient. For this purpose the exorcist performs a mystic ceremony before the couch of the patient. After having dressed in his official dress (kumà) he takes his drum (djugjur), which is his leader through the nether world and the seven heavens, and invokes the spirits of his dead ancestors and relatives, the spirits of mighty shamans. Through their mediation he goes down to the subterraneous world of the spirits, then climbs on strongly-turned ropes from one heaven to the other (which he reports in his mystic and ecstatic songs) asking whoever he is meeting: "who is the spirit that keeps my protégé in prison?" After a long migration he receives information on the permanent domicile of the spirit; finally, further devices are applied to get into negotiations with the found demon under the supervision of the protectors of the shaman.

18: Priklonski--82 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 753, 756, 761, 774, 776

The shaman's endeavor is not always successful. He may not succeed in finding out the identity of the spirit who causes the illness, or once that he has managed to, he may not be able to locate him at a given moment, or, at last, the negotiations may have failed to bring about persuasion of the frightful, cruel demon, to appease him, to change his ire into indulgence. Unconditionally helpless is the shaman with pestilence and epidemics (dżan). The demon will not cease grasping the soul (kut) of the patient as a prey, takes possession of it, severs it from the body, and flees away with it. The patient's body remains unmoved and stops breathing, and unless the dreadful demon is propitiated before long, the soul will fail to come back to its former abode, the bodily frame will cool down and be subject to decomposition.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

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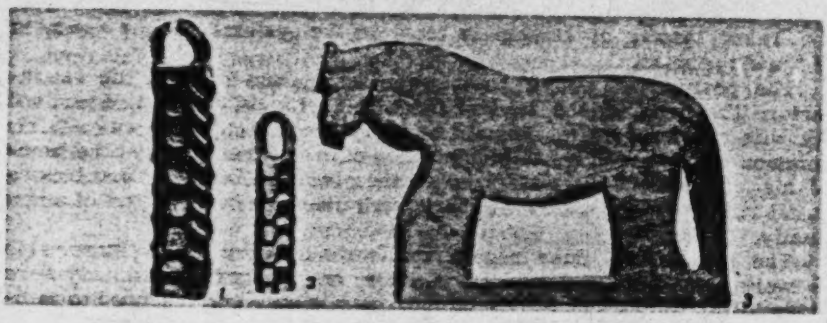

Wooden toys: 1—ox, 2—cow; 3—horse.

771 the toyons, were zealous Christians. Actually, this is understandable, since Christianity was far better suited than shamanism to satisfying the class interests of the rich people. Nevertheless, the old, pre-Christian religion did not entirely disappear, and the older beliefs, although somewhat modified through the influence of Christian ideas, still kept their hold; and the shamans, the ministers of the old cult, still enjoyed authority, although they were forced to some extent to conceal their activities from the tsarist administrators and Orthodox clergy. Shamanism and the animistic beliefs associated with it seem to have been the most persistent element of the old Yakut religion.

756 171 The Yakut shamanism was closest of all to the Tungus type. The Yakut shaman tambourine (wide-rimmed and oval) was exactly the same as the Tungus tambourine; the costume was also the Tungus type, except that the Yakut shamans officiated with uncovered heads. The similarity involved more than just their outward appearance; it also showed up in the more important details of the beliefs and rituals.

756 The Yakut shaman (oyuun) was considered the professional attendant of the spirits. According to Yakut belief, anyone chosen by the spirits to serve them could become a shaman, but the shamans were usually from the same families: "in a clan where a shaman has once appeared, he does not pass away," said the Yakuts. Apart from men shamans, there were also women shamans (*удаҕан*), who were considered to be [753] even more powerful. A sign of readiness to adopt the profession of shaman was a nervous ailment, which was interpreted as evidence that the person had been "elected" by the spirits; this was followed by a period of training under the guidance of an old shaman, and finally by a ritual public consecration.

756 776 It was thought that the spirit electing the shaman became his patron spirit (emeget), and that it was the soul of an important shaman who had died earlier. Its image in the form of a flat copper effigy was worn among the other pendants with the shaman costume; the image was also called an emeget. The patron spirit imbues the shaman with strength and knowledge. The shaman sees and hears only through his emeget. Besides the latter, every shaman has his own animal double (iye-kyyl, "mother beast") in the form of an invisible eagle, stallion, bull, bear and so on. Finally, besides these personal spirits, every shaman was associated with a number of other spirits in human or bestial form when casting his spells. The different categories of spirits associated with the shaman's activity had their own specific names.

[753] The most important and largest group of spirits were the abaahy (or abaasy), devouring spirits to whose activity certain diseases were attributed.

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[546 cont.]
Undoubtedly, the man's death was caused by the soul of the anchor, which had been offended by the damage to its abode, and it took revenge. Its great power was thus demonstrated; whereupon the
V
anchor was worshiped and became a fetish. One more example:
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Wuttke mentions that the Jakoeten [Yakut] saw a camel for the first time just as there was an outbreak of smallpox among them. Since then the camel has been regarded as a hostile god. In this instance, too, we find the two conditions for the emergence of a fetish. On the one hand, the camel, an animal that had never been seen before, and, on the other hand, the smallpox. The two things were linked in a causal connection. The spirit that was embodied in the camel, the soul of the camel, was a powerful spirit; the camel thus became a fetish.

Therefore, there are four factors that lead to fetishistic worship: 1. the presence of a peculiar, rare, and therefore in many cases valuable object; 2. [547] the theosophic idea of that object as living, feeling, and willing; 3. the idea of a causal connection between that object and a particular phenomenon; and 4. following directly from the first three points, the recognition of the object as something powerful and for this reason to be feared and worshiped. Close attention shows that the savage actually does not worship the object itself, but its soul, which he has come to know as powerful and to be feared. He does this unconsciously, however. He does not separate the soul from the object, but regards both as an entity and worships the one as well as the other (1). We must thus continue to re-

1. Nieman, "de Godsdienst der Bataks [The Religion of the Batak], Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., 1870, I, p. 291. Tiele, Een probleem v. d. godsdienstwetenschap [A Problem of Theology], p. 210 and passim.

gard fetishism as the worship of perceptible objects as animated beings.